

THE Commonweal

Burma's Experiment in a State Religion

J. V. JENSEN

JACK NEWFIELD

The Real Revolt on Campus

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A Philosopher's Philosopher

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Toward Freer Trade

PROPOSERS of free trade have manifested an optimism comparable to that of the Manchester economic liberals. The theory is that if all artificial barriers to commerce are removed, each country will concentrate on producing what it can most efficiently. The world will necessarily then be so ordered that there will be universal plenty.

Doubtless the actual distribution of natural resources, extremes of climate and rainfall and the unequal development of human capabilities from country to country are factors that would militate against realizing this rosy vision. Yet it contains a kernel of truth. The short history of the European Economic Community is here to prove it. The Community has, for example, increased the trade among its members by fifty per cent in the past three years. Britain is applying for membership; its six other associates in the "Outer Seven" are expected to follow. Economically, at least, there is in process of creation an effective Third Force.

If in the next few years this movement should draw North America into its orbit, something akin to the free-traders' vision would actually be in prospect. This would be particularly true if Western Europe and the United States should succeed in coordinating their joint efforts with the economic development of Latin America, the uncommitted Asian nations and Africa. An Atlantic Community functioning not only for the benefit of its constituent nations but also in such a way as to boost the self-development of the colonialist peoples would constitute an impregnable force for prosperity, stability and peace.

When one turns from such an eventuality, which is to be devoutly hoped for, to such questions as the amount of authority President Kennedy should have to decree certain tariff reductions "across the board," it is necessary to take a big leap backward in order to tackle the present problem.

There are all sorts of complicating factors: the three billions it costs each year to operate American overseas military bases; this country's tax-aided investment on foreign shores, much of it in the now re-industrialized countries of Western Europe; the effects of foreign distribution of American agricultural surpluses. After six months of intense negotiation with the European Common Market, the United States has failed to reach an agreement.

THE RISING external tariff wall of the Economic Community threatens to deprive American manufacturers of some of their most substantial export markets. This is the situation Mr. Kennedy now faces. He seeks maneuverability to bargain with the Common Market to protect and expand these key outlets for American industrial and agricultural production. He has support both from interested private enterprise and American labor leaders.

Unlike certain of our conservative political and business leaders, A.F.L.-C.I.O. executives see little hope today in trying to compensate for foreign competition by imposing or reducing import quotas or raising trade barriers. Instead of restriction they favor a policy that would increase trade and the demand made upon our general productive capacity. At the same time they insist that special provision be made for the industries, workers and communities that would inevitably be hurt by lower tariffs. Funds would need to be allocated for retraining displaced workers for other jobs and for the expense of moving to a new locality. Loans should also be made to affected communities to aid in their rehabilitation. Unemployment insurance should be more generous, and it should be made easier for workers to retire at an earlier age. Should not a like program already be in operation to combat the joblessness caused by automation?

Whether one considers the broader vistas of an Atlantic Community characterized more by co-operation than by competition, the economic as-

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pects of the cold war, or what needs to be done here and now for the benefit of American enterprise in an increasingly competitive and interdependent world, one thing is certain. The old combination is losing its steam. American industry can no longer count on unhindered commerce in former colonial areas coupled with the props of a high tariff wall at home. There has to be a new and more comprehensive kind of government intervention. And this will make the obligations of responsible citizenship more demanding still.

A Southern Association

WHAT IS the purpose of the recently formed Southern Association of Intelligence Agents? The officers of the new group, which is made up of representatives from ten Southern states and a number of individual cities, maintain that there is nothing about it to cause anyone the slightest concern. "Our primary purpose," says the association's president, Lieutenant H. A. Poole of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, "is to establish liaison and faith in one another and to exchange information."

Certainly there seems little cause for alarm in this objective. But as the interests of the new group are set forth by its spokesmen in less general terms, one's confidence begins to wane. Certain organizations, for instance, are listed by S.A.I.A. as posing special problems for Southerners, among them the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Council, the Minutemen, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

It is true that the activities of all these groups may raise special problems for Southern law-enforcement agencies, but to lump together the Klan and C.O.R.E., as only one example, would seem to indicate a point of view at best somewhat curious. Other aspects of this point of view are even more disquieting. Association members believe that Communist infiltration of Southern schools is also a major problem, and President Poole is quoted as saying, "When you are dealing with educational institutions you are dealing with dynamite. They've got this academic freedom." Still another prime concern of the S.A.I.A. is an alleged presence of homosexuals in government positions.

It is no wonder that Southern integrationists fear the new ten-state "intelligence network" will be used to harass them and to thwart the cause of civil rights in the South. The bi-racial Southern Regional Council has charged, for instance, that the State of Florida's recent investigation of homosexuality among University of Florida faculty mem-

bers, which resulted in the dismissal of fifteen staff members, was only a pretext to deter desegregation, and the fact that the same Florida investigation found the local N.A.A.C.P. to be infiltrated by Communists lends weight to this contention.

Thus far, the activities of the Southern Association of Intelligence Agents would seem to call for no more than vigilance and concern. But it seems to us unquestionable that a group which sees the major problems of the South as Communist infiltration and homosexuals in government, which puts the Congress of Racial Equality in the same category as the Ku Klux Klan, and which is at the same time a group composed of official Deep South law-enforcement agents, does represent a distinct threat to progress in integration and civil rights in the South. We hope that the F.B.I. will be as zealous in its surveillance of the S.A.I.A. as it is in some other areas. If it is not, and this is unfortunately a real possibility, the F.B.I.'s neglected responsibility should be taken up by the Attorney General of the United States.

Reservist Complaints

WHEN PRESIDENT Kennedy was authorized by Congress last summer to call up reserve units and individuals to meet the Berlin crisis, both the President and Congress were applauded. The move served in part to satisfy those who believed the United States should back up its firm words with some concrete action. It also pleased those who were worried that America would find itself in a situation in which it would have no choice but to defend itself with nuclear weapons.

Now, some months later, the Administration is under attack for its handling of the recall. While some individual complaints from the reservists themselves were probably inevitable, the easing of the Berlin situation has intensified the impact of these complaints.

The complaints and criticisms have been of a varied lot, some more significant than others. Many of them have turned on a lack of equipment, inadequate training plans, and insufficient clothing. Criticism of this sort, while apparently justified in many instances, can with good reason be somewhat overlooked when one considers the rapidity of the recall.

More serious, however, is the criticism that the recall, by its early harsh deferment policy, resulted in many inequities. In many instances men with two or more years of active duty were called back while reservists with only six months of active duty were spared. Equally serious is the criticism that many of the individual specialists recalled have not

been given duties which would use their technical skills. In many cases these men have been given nothing at all to do while in others they are assigned duties which have no bearing on their skills. While this kind of bungling is an old tradition in the Army, there seems little reason to excuse it today.

The most curious and disturbing criticism, however, has been that many of the reservists have no idea what they are doing back in the service. At least two explanations are possible for this criticism. Either a great many Americans, including reservists, are just ignorant or the Administration has failed to get across its reasons for the recall.

What undoubtedly complicates the situation is that the Berlin threat has subsided somewhat. It is not surprising, given this change since last summer, that many wonder if there was ever a genuine crisis in the first place. The irony, of course, is that the recall may itself have contributed to the easing of tensions by forcing the Soviets to back down in their Berlin demands.

Nevertheless, there are far deeper reasons for much of the ignorance and dissatisfaction. For many years now this country has suffered from the baneful effects of the Dulles' "massive retaliation" doctrine. We have for so long relied upon nuclear weapons as our main line of defense, so long boasted of our ability to destroy the Soviet Union, so long neglected conventional means of warfare, that it is hardly surprising that many Americans fail to grasp the Administration's military policy.

That policy, while often put in a vague fashion, was summarized adequately by President Kennedy in his most recent press conference. "While we rely," he said, "on our nuclear weapons, we also . . . have a choice between humiliation and a holocaust." What gives us this choice, he implied, is the maintenance of the means to fight a conventional war if at all possible; to have some means to fulfill our commitments without an exclusive reliance upon massive nuclear destruction.

This is hardly a subtle or very complicated position. But after years of hearing that we would have no choice but to use nuclear weapons, many are simply not going to grasp the rationality of this approach. While it is good to see that what was a minority opinion during the Eisenhower Administration—the conceivability of limited warfare—has now been recognized, the Administration clearly has a major educational task on its hands.

Not only must it root out the last vestiges of "massive retaliation," it must also show that preparation to wage conventional warfare does provide at least one way out of the nuclear dilemma. America does have the choice the President suggested. But it has to see it if it is to be a meaningful one.

Lobby For Peace

DR. LEO SZILARD was one of the pioneers in developing the system of nuclear reaction which enabled this country to produce the atomic bomb. Now, pioneering in another direction, Dr. Szilard is calling for a nationwide Council for Abolishing War, an organization that could spend twenty-five million dollars a year lobbying in the cause of peace.

In a recent address at the University of Chicago, the eminent biophysicist declared that without drastic political changes, the world is "headed toward an all-out war." One of the ways to avoid this disaster, he said, would be to create the organization he described.

Most importantly, the "movement to abolish war" would ask all those who joined it to contribute two per cent of their total income. Starting with a base of 50,000 students, Dr. Szilard estimated that the movement could reach 500,000 members in a year, which would raise a fund of fifty million dollars. The Council would use every form of personal and group lobbying to influence politicians, editors, columnists, television commentators and all those who influence public opinion. It would also contribute directly to political campaigns and "deliver the votes" of its members, who would promise to vote solely on the issue of "war and peace." It would be, said Dr. Szilard, "the most powerful lobby that ever hit Washington."

Dr. Szilard's idea is exciting and impressive. What is perhaps most notable about it is its rare combination of idealism and hard practicality, which is of course the essential combination. On the one hand, the plan envisaged by Dr. Szilard is single-minded and uncompromising in its idealistic objective of peace; on the other, it calls for hard, politically sophisticated action in the achievement of that objective.

On this score we think that Dr. Szilard is entirely right. The cause of peace is certainly of desperate importance today, and yet it has nothing like the immense pressure apparatus maintained at our government centers by dozens of special-interest groups. If peace has this vital importance, why should its cause not be supported as diligently and as effectively as the cause of the medical associations, or war veterans, or trucking interests?

We hope that Dr. Szilard is right in believing that his movement will attract millions of Americans, especially young people. Certainly it is a movement which offers youth today a need, a cause and a program. For the sake of all mankind, may it be a success, and may Dr. Szilard's greatest claim to fame—he has many—be that he fathered this inspiring plan to advance the cause of peace.

The Empty Chair

SHORTLY before Thanksgiving, the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States had a private conference with Pope John XXIII. For the first time in history, the Roman Pontiff and the head of the American branch of the Anglican Communion met face-to-face. The subject discussed was "the unity of all Christian people," and the exchanges were described as "most cordial."

This visit therefore followed the pattern set some months ago when the Archbishop of Canterbury paid a visit to the Pope. That too was an historic occasion, the first such meeting since the days of Martin Luther. And it too took place in an atmosphere of Christian cordiality.

At this writing, the proceedings of the Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches are finishing up in India. There too precedent was set, for the meetings were attended by five Catholic theologians acting as official observers for the Vatican—including the American Father Edward Duff, S.J., of the Institute of Social Order in St. Louis.

All these events, of course, owe their inspiration to the Ecumenical Council called by Pope John XXIII, the first sessions of which are slated to begin late next year. To those meetings, in turn, official Protestant observers will be invited, and at this point their attendance looks almost certain.

These are heartening signs. If the road toward Christian unity is a long one, at least the first tentative steps are being taken. But it seems to me the time has come for something more.

A few weeks ago I spoke at a conference sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews on the role of religion in American society. Speaking with me were a distinguished Protestant and a well-known Rabbi; like me, both had come some distance to participate. Our talks were followed by extensive discussion periods, with much give-and-take between the participants themselves and the audience—all part of a continuing program, dedicated to an exploration of our religious roots and a serious effort to see how religion could have more impact on our society.

I thought of this meeting when I read the recent statement of the American Bishops on the decline of morality in American life. Offhand, it would seem that a program like the one I participated in would be exactly the kind of thing to receive a hearty welcome from those concerned about the impact of religion on public affairs. Yet as far as I was concerned, one of the most striking things about the affair was the minimal amount of Catholic support.

True, there were some well informed Catholic laymen present, a few of whom had had a hand in planning the program. But they amounted to only a handful, and the participants did not include one priest, brother or sister from the diocese in which the meeting was held. In fact, the only priest on the scene turned out to be a subscriber to *The Commonweal* who had driven over from his own diocese to see what I looked like in the flesh.

This is not, I am afraid, an untypical situation. We Catholics are forever talking about the need for morality in public life. In fact, though, everyone who is involved in such matters knows that it is extremely difficult to get our participation in projects not specifically labeled "Catholic." And when it comes to participation by priests, anyone who has ever tried knows that in many areas it is almost impossible to find one who can or will join in such efforts.

I know that the fault in these matters is not all on the Catholic side. We have old wounds which are hardly healed, and there are still places where Catholics are not made to feel welcome. But these instances are more and more the exception. If Catholics remain a minority in this country, we are hardly a beleaguered minority any longer. It seems to me, then, that it is time for us to take a hard look at our attitude in these matters and at the changed historical situation we confront.

Here we might profitably consider some recent words of Augustin Cardinal Bea, president of the Vatican's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. The coming Ecumenical Council should not be viewed as a "Council of Union," Cardinal Bea said, but as one "preparing the way" for Christian unity at some time in the future. Meantime, he stressed, the doctrinal differences separating Catholics and the Protestant and Eastern Orthodox bodies in no way preclude their collaboration in facing common social problems or in working together for world peace. And this, it seems to me, is exactly where American Catholics fall down.

In general, why don't Catholics participate more? Why should the John Birch Society be the only non-religious organization I know of that can boast of a membership fifty per cent Catholic? And in particular, if Pope John can meet with the Archbishop of Canterbury and if he can extend a cordial welcome to visiting American Jews, why is it often so hard to get an American priest on the same platform with a minister and a rabbi?

I have no idea what the American Bishops would reply to such questions. I can only say that I do not find them easy to answer.

JAMES O'GARA

Burma's Experiment in a State Religion

J. V. JENSEN

FROM THE Full Moon of July (July 27th this year) to the Full Moon of October (the 24th), Buddhist Lent is observed in the Southeast Asian country of Burma, which is eighty-five per cent Buddhist. The devout frequent their pagodas (temples), abstain from various practices, sincerely reflect on their shortcomings and resolve to become more like the Enlightened One. The ubiquitous orange-robed *pongyis* (Buddhist monks) are given special homage, food, and gifts.

But this year it is not only the Lenten season which has the Burmese thinking about religion. On August 26 (Full Moon Day), a joint session of both houses of Parliament passed the Third Amendment to the Constitution, making Buddhism the State Religion, and as the President signed the bill the same day, it immediately went into effect. The vote in Parliament was 324 ayes and 28 nays (and 19 absent), so the two-thirds vote required for constitutional amendments was easily obtained.

In this way, many weeks of intensive planning and discussion, and years of persistent effort by Buddhist leaders, finally came to a successful climax. In celebration and commemoration, the government reduced prison sentences for many fortunate inmates, and Premier U Nu in a special symbolic ceremony freed five hundred and forty animals, wishing them the best of luck for the rest of their lives.

Premier U Nu made his official request for the passage of a bill to make Buddhism the State Religion at the opening of the current session of Parliament on August 15th, while tanks and armed troops insured tranquility throughout Rangoon. The incongruity was glaring. As leaders of the minority religions had been urging their followers not to engage in demonstrations, and as the passage of the bill was a foregone conclusion, the troops had an easy day, as they did on August 17th, when the bill was moved and passed in the Lower House. On August 24th the Upper House passed the bill in a similarly calm atmosphere. The joint session on the 26th, then, was mere formality required for

constitutional amendments and appropriate for an astrology-centered culture.

The Third Amendment and its implementing companion, the State Religion Promotion Bill, which is yet to be passed but which is almost certain of parliamentary approval, will reach deeply into the lives of the citizenry, if carried out with vigor. The legislation proclaims that "Buddhism, being the religion professed by the great majority of the citizens of the Union, shall be the State Religion," and the Government undertakes to protect Buddhism "from all dangers including insult and false representation, made by words, either spoken or written, or by other means." This is the key phraseology on which any future prosecutions will no doubt rest. How this can be administered without infringing on the freedoms of speech and press remains to be seen.

BY THIS move the government commits itself to the rendering of "financial aid amounting to a minimum equal to .50 per cent of its annual current expenditure for matters connected with religions," which includes not only Buddhism, but also Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Animism. This provision no doubt helped to placate some non-Buddhists, although even under the status quo the government was giving financial aid to non-Buddhist faiths.

The government promises to submit an annual report to Buddhist leaders and to solicit their advice. Ancient pagodas and temples will be restored and special hospitals for Buddhist monks will be built. On Buddhist Sabbath Days the selling and serving of liquor will be prohibited, the State Broadcasting Service will carry at least an hour's program on Buddhism, and all government offices and schools will be closed. The government will provide for classes in Buddhist Scripture in prisons, and every court building or group of court buildings will have an image of the Buddha installed in a room or location convenient for public worship.

Buddhist Scriptures will be compulsory for all Buddhist students in state schools and colleges, and will take a place alongside other subjects in the university

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curriculum. The dead language of Pali, in which the ancient Buddhist texts are written, will be offered in high schools as well as on the college level. Buddhist Scriptures and other suitable Buddhist literature will be provided for all public libraries and in special reading rooms in all state schools and colleges. Arrangements will be made "in all state schools for the Buddhist teachers and students to pay their homage to the Buddha, to recite Buddhist Scriptures and to hear sermons on the teachings of the Buddha."

PEOPLE in the West will no doubt wonder why such legislation has been, or is about to be, enacted. Certainly a major factor is the sincere personal desire of Premier U Nu to strengthen the role of religion in general and Buddhism in particular in his country. His well-known persistent efforts toward this end during the last decade are greatly admired by friends and even by many foes.

After the Third Amendment had passed the Chamber of Deputies, the editor of the influential English language daily, *The Guardian*, wrote: "It will not be wrong to say that the Bill was drafted, introduced and passed because of the efforts of one man alone. Everybody knew that it was the Prime Minister U Nu who was the guiding spirit behind the Bill and those who praised as well as opposed the Bill rightly made references to the . . . views of the Prime Minister in their discussion."

In the brief Parliamentary debate, and in many discussions with leaders of the minority religions prior to the opening of Parliament, U Nu was able to calm the fears of the opposition, mainly through the force of his personality and his long record of fairness and tolerance. Such legislation, U Nu contended, would bring domestic peace and prosperity to Burma.

It is abundantly clear that a vast majority of the population desired such legislation. In fact, U Nu asserted that one of his reasons for desiring the bill passed at this time was to do it before it was done by "fanatical political leaders and fanatical Buddhist monks and laymen," which sounds much like the reasoning of those wartime American housewives who hastened to accumulate large supplies of sugar before those awful hoarders got it. Swept back into power in the last election with State Religion as his major campaign plank, U Nu fulfilled his promise to the electorate, which his foes assert was only a political maneuver to keep his party in power.

U Nu asserts that the reasoning behind State Religion is drawn from three major premises. The first is the fundamental Buddhist attitude that life on earth is transitory, that life is not singular and does not end with death. "If the government provides for the welfare of the people in such matters as education, health, and economic prosperity in the short span of life of this existence," reasoned U Nu in his speech to Parliament,

"it should provide for their welfare in the inestimably long future existences." Such an argument is very familiar to students of medieval and early modern Christendom.

Secondly, U Nu argues that "since it is the natural disposition of people to perform those acts which have been performed by other people of status, the government if it desires the advancement of religion, must assume the leadership." This too, was often the contention of European monarchies.

U Nu's final premise is a direct confrontation of Communism, an unusually bold and categorical posture for such a neutralist nation. In his speech to Parliament he asserted: "Since governments which do not believe in religion are themselves propagating the notion that religion is a drug, all governments which cherish and respect religion must assume leadership in religion in order to ably resist that notion."

OPPOSITION to the bill has been mature and tolerant, with an absence of emotionalism. A major premise of those who oppose the measure is that they are not against Buddhism or religion, but are against the principle of making any religion a State Religion. They are skeptical that freedom of religion can actually exist together with State Religion, and express concern over the possibility of non-Buddhists becoming second-class citizens.

For even though present high government officials may be very tolerant, lower echelon personnel may not be, they argue, and less fairminded people may fill even high posts in the future. Furthermore, power has a way of corrupting even the righteous, and U Raschid, a leading Moslem and an articulate opponent of the State Religion Bill even though he is a member of U Nu's cabinet, expressed an important consideration when he warned his fellow members of Parliament: "The psychological effect of this amendment will be so great on the minds of the religious majority that it will need a great deal of vision, broadmindedness, restraint and firmness on the part of national leaders to maintain the existing religious amity in the country."

In addition, there are many who feel that making Buddhism the State Religion will needlessly sap the time, energy and finances of the government and divert attention from pressing social, economic, and political problems. As U Raschid said: "We have a long way to go in raising the standards of living in this country. We cannot afford to waste time on arguments which are likely to arise as a result of the adoption of a State Religion."

Furthermore, those in opposition contend that there really is no need for this move, as the government has always been able to foster Buddhism. The legislation, they argue, will only bring racial and religious strife, national disunity, and hence will retard peace and

prosperity. They point out that neighboring countries in South and Southeast Asia have avoided making any religion a State Religion, and they ask why Burma should be the exception. Finally, the opposition asserts that this move is inconsistent with modern democracy and that by it Burma is taking a regressive step back into the Middle Ages.

PREMIER U NU and other responsible government officials have been extremely anxious to insure fairness and tolerance for all non-Buddhists. In his speeches in Parliament and in other public statements, U Nu has given lengthy sermons exhorting Buddhists to exhibit these qualities.

Typically, in his speech to the Chamber of Nationalities, the Upper House, U Nu quoted the revered King Asoka, who in the third century, B.C., did so much to foster Buddhism: "The faiths of others all deserve to be honored for one reason or another. By honoring them, one exalts one's own faith and at the same time performs a service to the faith of others. By acting otherwise, one injures one's own faith and also does disservice to that of others."

A bill to be known as the Fourth Constitutional Amendment has already been prepared and is virtually assured of passage in Parliament; it insures the right

to all religions not only to profess and practice their faith (as the Constitution now guarantees), but specifically adds the right "to teach." This presumably would permit non-Buddhists to teach their followers in state schools, which of course could be highly significant to all such groups.

A second major item in the Fourth Constitutional Amendment is that *all* religions, not only Buddhism, will be protected from "all dangers including insult and false representation, made by words, either spoken or written, or by other means." Furthermore, a Religious Affairs Committee, with U Nu as the chairman, is being formed, "comprising religious leaders of all faiths in the country, to ensure that there is no discrimination on the basis of religion."

By such means, then, U Nu and other supporters of the State Religion Bill have sincerely tried to demonstrate that fairness and tolerance to all religions is not an empty slogan. But the real test of the compatibility of State Religion with the concept of freedom of religion, of course, will be met in the administration of these legislative acts. For this we will have to wait and see. At this point, in the opinion of most observers, it is still too early to make any predictions about the effect of the new legislation on Christianity and other non-Buddhist faiths in Burma.

JACK NEWFIELD

The Real Revolt on Campus

THE WIDESPREAD myth of a conservative revival on the college campus was exposed last August at the National Student Association's fourteenth annual congress in Madison, Wisconsin, where the much-publicized Young Americans for Freedom failed utterly to lead the nation's youth into the nineteenth century. Actually, there is mounting evidence that while the professional campus watchers were dazzled by a well-financed but minute radical right, a genuine liberal-radical renaissance has flowered on many campuses.

Buoyed by the large crowds attracted by conservative speakers, and by their own voluminous press releases, the Y.A.F. evangelists converged on the N.S.A. Congress fired with their mission of salvation for the "left-leaning" student organization. For weeks before, the wire service tickers had been humming with stories de-

picting a tidal wave of conservatism sweeping the academies. Five thousand students had turned out for a Y.A.F. pep-rally at New York's Manhattan Center in March. By June several national magazines had dubbed Barry Goldwater's youthful stalwarts as "the wave of the future." On the eve of the congress, the New York *Times* man in Madison doubted whether the liberals could carry the convention on a majority of the substantive issues.

In Madison, Y.A.F. and its fraternal twin, the Inter-collegiate Society of Individualists, set up convention headquarters replete with gaudy hotel suite, walkie-talkies (to communicate with adult coaches who were calling the plays) and the field generalship of Fulton Lewis III. The first hint that the university had not quite exorcised the liberal dybbuk came when William F. Buckley Jr., editor of the *National Review*, addressed seven hundred delegates in the downtown Hotel Madison. After his talk, a young man in the audience rose

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and asked him whether his great concern for individual liberty extended to Mississippi and Algeria.

Mr. Buckley replied that while he did favor "racial equality," he was against "universal suffrage." He added, "The interests of individual liberty were best served by French control of Algeria." In the silence that followed these statements, you could almost hear air escape from the conservative balloon.

The issue on which the right-wing had been most confident was the support of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Following the screening of the now famous film titled "Operation Abolition," there was a debate witnessed by more than a thousand student leaders between the film's narrator, Fulton Lewis III, and Michael Harrington, a frequent contributor to these pages. At the conclusion of Mr. Harrington's summation, an impassioned catalogue of the committee's excesses, he received a standing ovation. The students then voted 269-156 in favor of abolition of the committee. The convention then voted endorsement of the sit-ins and the peace corps, packed up and went home.

WHILE THE conservative revival may have been a figment of the mass media's imagination, however, there has been a very real resurgence on the democratic left, a resurgence that has been direct-action, issue-oriented, and is only now pausing to grope for some fundamental analyses and a comprehensive program. The search for a specific birthdate for this revival leads inevitably to February 1, 1960, when four Negro students from a Jim Crow college sat down at a segregated lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, and waited to be served. The new radicalism has undoubtedly received most of its impetus, inspiration and élan from the non-violent student movement in the South.

Twenty-year-old Freedom Rider, Stokey Carmichael, of Bronx High School of Science and Howard University, expresses the feelings of the young reformers when he says: "I don't think the kind of moral society we're striving for can ever be fully realized by the Democratic Party as its stands today. My own belief is that there must be a third party composed of true liberals and democratic radicals that can make a strong ethical appeal to the middle class."

Within three months of the first sit-in, this new radicalism manifested itself on a variety of fronts. In San Francisco, hundreds of undergraduates and graduate students demonstrated against the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In dozens of Northern cities picketing Woolworth's became a weekly Saturday morning ritual. On May 3, in New York, five hundred students massed on the City College campus and refused to take shelter during the nation-wide civil defense drill. Brooklyn College suspended fifty-three students for a similar protest. On May 30, one hundred Antioch College students marched twenty miles to

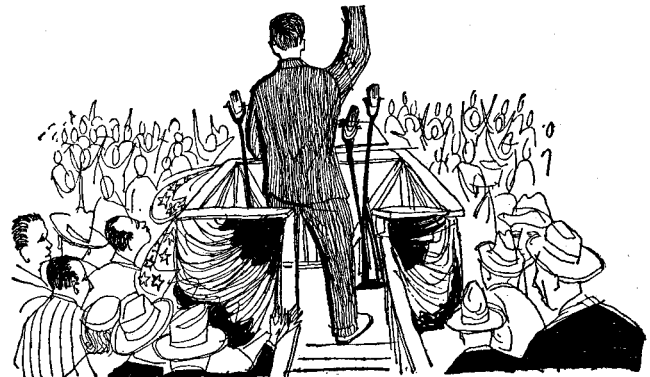
picket a missile installation. And in the South, the first sit-in spawned a mass movement.

By June 15 there had been an estimated three hundred sit-in demonstrations throughout the South, resulting in the jailing of more than four thousand college and high school students, most of whom adhered to the "Jail, No Bail" slogan. On March 15, in Orangeburg, South Carolina, three hundred fifty South Carolina State and Claflin University students were arrested on breach of peace charges. On February 13, in Nashville, Tennessee, seventy-six students from Fisk University, Vanderbilt University and Tennessee State College were arrested for violating a segregated commerce statute.

THE FIRST glimmer that the rash of spring pickets and protests were more than a symptom of spring fever came in the membership spurts reported by a half-dozen student organizations. The fledgling Student Peace Union doubled its membership by year's end, and gathered ten thousand signatures on a Peace Petition delivered to the White House on the eve of the ill-fated Paris summit conference. The Young People's Socialist League, the children of Norman Thomas, doubled their membership, and according to National Secretary Joel Geier, established chapters in such unlikely locales as Texas and Colorado. Equally impressive membership increases were recorded by the Students for a Democratic Society, the campus affiliate of the venerable League for Industrial Democracy, and by campus staples like Student SANE and the N.A.A.C.P.

The revival gained further permanence, as well as a forum to test its ideological strivings, in a burgeoning crop of student-edited magazines, bearing such names as *Activist*, *New Guard* and *New Freedom*. The University of Wisconsin's *Studies on the Left*, avowedly Marxist, quickly gained a readership outside the academies; to a lesser extent so did the Chicago-based *New University Thought*. About to be added to an already flooded market, under the aegis of the Students for a Democratic Society, is a reorganized *Venture* magazine.

This new radicalism is unique in several ways, not the least of which is the fact it represents a rebellion



against not only the apathy and conformity that strangled the colleges for a decade, but also against the Stevensonian brand of liberalism that flourished alongside that apathy. Unlike their spiritual fathers of the 1930's the new reformers are essentially unmoved by the Marxist dialectic. Their speech is bereft of such phrases as "the proletariat," or "the class struggle." Instead, they speak most eloquently in terms couched in the language of non-violence, of civil disobedience, of humanism, and of Christian love. Their idols are such as Thoreau, Gandhi and Martin Luther King. The most read book in the Parchmann Reformatory in Jackson, Mississippi, where most of the Freedom Riders were sent, was the Bible.

Unlike their angry young counterparts in England, the Americans must chart their own course since they have no Labor Party to gravitate to, and no dynamic trade union movement to use as an instrument of social change. Faced with the specter of a schizophrenic Democratic Party and a sluggish, often conservative AFL-CIO these young people are turning more and more to the Southern Negro student as the catalyst in altering the basic power structure and political alignment in America. It is in this threat to long-standing political and social institutions that the new movement is radical, rather than in the traditional Marxist sense of the 1930's.

The non-violent movement in the South can act as such a catalyst precisely because it mounts a direct challenge against a segregated and exploitive Southern society and, at the same time, against the conscience of Northern liberals, the two power blocs that sustain the balance of accommodation of the Democratic Party. Whereas all the passion and idealism of the nation seemed in the thirties to be vested in the labor movement, so in 1961 do these qualities abound in the Southern student movement, which has given new hope and direction to the entire complex of adult civil rights groups at a time they needed it most. This leadership is in graphic contrast to the example of the adult-manipulated Y.A.F.

This June, at the peak of the Freedom Rides, dozens of Southern student leaders (white and Negro) assembled in Louisville, Kentucky, for a meeting of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. The new group quickly defined itself as a loose federation with a minimum of organization, reflecting the movement's healthy aversion for bureaucracy and a desire to retain its spontaneity at all costs. The S.N.C.C. also vowed to remain autonomous of all adult civil rights groups, none of whom the leadership considers militant enough.

This fall the S.N.C.C. has been concentrating on recruitment on white campuses and on a method of penetrating into the Deep South. Negro students from Mississippi report that confiscation of mail and wiretaps by local Gestapo-like agencies renders communication with

nerve-centers like Nashville and Atlanta impossible. Recognition that a Northern counterpart of the organization is imperative has been growing, and the next few months will see the Students for a Democratic Society attempt to assume the vital coordinating role in the North. Once again, an example of middle-class Northern students taking their cue from the South.

THE DEMAND for a basic realignment of the political forces in America is the new radicalism's first significant step away from its original direct-action orientation, and reflects the recent search for some fundamental analysis. In the pamphlet "Unfinished Revolution," Tom Kahn writes: "We are not proposing a 'third party' or any sort of splinter group, but a real second party . . . There are eighteen million people in the trade union movement and eighteen million Negroes in America. Add to this millions of small farmers, migrant workers, unorganized workers, other exploited minorities and real liberals . . . here we have the makings of a great new Democratic Party."

In retrospect, it is difficult to understand how anyone could have taken the children of the Right seriously. They had money, and according to their own statistics, numerical strength (21,000 members on 115 campuses), but they were wholly lacking in imagination, initiative and in a grasp of the adult political world. They only reacted when their adult advisers yanked on the proper string. The limits of their political action were cheering and booing.

At their Manhattan Center rally I saw their well scrubbed faces turn ugly with hate each time the name of Eleanor Roosevelt was mentioned; they were thus fighting the menace of international Communism. When the image of a crew-cut eighteen-year-old booing the name of a seventy-seven-year-old woman is counterposed to one of hundreds of students passing the long nights in the Parchmann Reformatory with hymn singing, it becomes clear why Y.A.F. could never be anything more than a truculent illusion.

Winter

Only the heart grieves
now that did not read
a little while ago
death's signature quite legible in leaves.
Of such instruction I have no such need
because it is by rote I lately know
the telegraphic brevity of phrase
that spells the warrant out for autumn days.
Tapers I lit at maple fires glow
bright for the requiem of one more year:
thus warmed beside a catafalque of snow
over dead days I shed no sudden tear.

SISTER M. ELIZABETH DE SALES, S.S.J.

DECEMBER 15, 1961 311

A Philosopher's Philosopher

AS A general thing, philosophical centenaries have a certain arbitrariness about them. The lives of great thinkers should, of course, be commemorated, especially at philosophical conventions; and a hundred years makes a nice round figure. It is rare, however, that the century mark has any real relation to the man's work. But with this year's centenary of the birth of Alfred North Whitehead, there is a genuine fitness; his life and thought can be said to have spanned the whole period from 1861 to 1961, as few lives have ever done with an era.

Spanned it in sheer physical duration—almost; he died at the very end of 1947, in his eighty-seventh year. But much more than that, he stood astride the century in breadth as well as in length; not only as spectator, but as active participant in a surprising number of its most critical areas.

It was 1880 and Whitehead was nineteen when he "went up" to Cambridge to begin the mathematical career which culminated in the publication (from 1910 to 1913) in collaboration with Bertrand Russell, of the *Principia Mathematica*. This brought virtually the whole mathematical language of science within the scope of formal logic, in a work which stands permanently as a monument to the power of sustained, rigorous thought.

Then in 1910 Whitehead and his family moved to London University, where he took a "bottle-washing" job until a professorship was made for him. Here, in a baffling multiplicity of administrative posts, he came to see in a new light the whole problem of higher education: "The seething mass of artisans seeking intellectual enlightenment, of young people from every social grade craving for adequate knowledge, the variety of problems thus introduced—all this was a new factor in civilization."

At London, too, he began the work in the re-thinking of the basic conceptions of mathematical physics which he saw to be demanded by the breakdown of Newton's world-view in the face of new discoveries. This was, of course, philosophic work. But the third, and crowning, phase of his career began only when, in 1924, at the age of sixty-three, he accepted a professorship of philosophy offered by Harvard University—there to become, in a span of little more than a decade, the dominant figure in the American thought of his time, and the author,

in his major technical work, *Process and Reality* (1929), of what has been called "the most comprehensive, original systematic work in English philosophy since the days of Hobbes . . . a monument in metaphysics, cosmology and theology."

In *Process and Reality* Whitehead is, par excellence, a philosopher's philosopher; the book stands as a kind of metaphysical Mount Everest, attracting scholars almost as much by the sheer challenge of its being *there* as by the prospect of a breath-taking view from the summit. The same broad intellectual vision is offered to the general reader in *Science in the Modern World* (1925) and *Adventures of Ideas* (1933); but here insight into the infinitely rich, infinitely varied, endlessly intermeshed texture of experience is brought to bear upon the concrete history of man's thought and man's feeling throughout the long sweep of Western civilization.

NOT ONLY did Whitehead's life and experience span the century; his wide gaze surveyed it in a single vision, and he saw it constantly as a turning-point in the course of the human adventure.

In 1933, speaking for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Harvard Business School, he could survey the economic and social life of the generation just passed and sum it up in a single refrain: "Something has come to an end." In 1919, before an audience of English school-boys, he had sounded a different note of the same scale. "There have been moments in history when new worlds were discovered. There was such a moment when Columbus discovered America. Creation widened to man's view. There is such a moment now."

He saw the change not only in one or two fields, but in all its aspects. In the matter of technology, most obviously; he once caught himself on the brink of the assertion that "the techniques of living have changed faster and more between 1861 and 1944 than they did, going backward—between 1861 and 61 B.C.!"

Politically, looking back to 1864, the year of his earliest memories (of himself as a boy of three, playing in the *Tuileries*), he could write: "At the time of the first vision to the child playing in the garden, secure within his own small world of feelings, human life was exhibiting every diverse phase of horror, enjoyment and ambition. On September 2, 1864, Atlanta was occupied by the Union forces, and almost immediately Sherman submitted to Grant his plan for his march from Atlanta

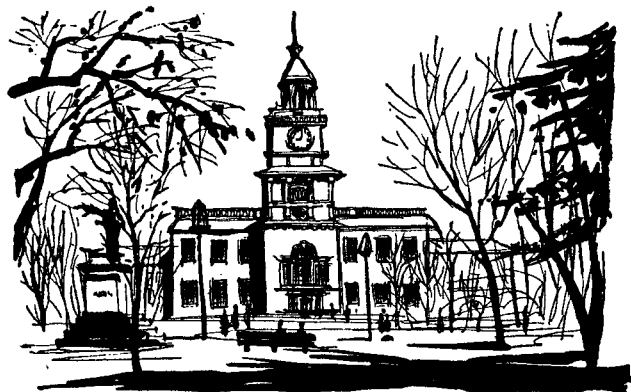
SISTER HELEN JAMES JOHN, S.N.D., is a member of the philosophy department at Trinity College, Washington, D.C.

to the sea—at the very time when the child was playing in the garden. Bismarck was perfecting the policy which brought about the overthrow of Austria within two years. Italy was waiting to seize Rome. The Pope was consolidating his control over the Church, to balance his loss of temporal power. England was nearing the end of the second of its only two long periods of complete security, after the defeat of Louis XIV and after the defeat of Napoleon.”

IN ECONOMICS, Whitehead could see, in the early thirties, the breakdown of the individualistic liberalism of the nineteenth century as constituting “the most massive problem of human relationships” of the immediate present. And at the same time, he could dismiss as a total anachronism the penchant of “superior persons” for quoting Matthew Arnold on English education: “At the time when he wrote them they were true enough. But nothing in his Essays applies to the England of today. . . . One of my most precious memories is that I have, within the space of my lifetime, witnessed the education of England, and the change in English lives that that education has meant.”

But of all the many facets of the revolution in human life and thought which he witnessed, that which affected Whitehead most profoundly was the breakdown of Newtonian physics. The story is best told in his own words: “I was in Cambridge in the 1880’s, first as an undergraduate, later as one of the staff. It was from two hundred to two hundred and fifty years since mathematics had had its fresh impetus from men like Descartes and Sir Isaac Newton; there were certain borderlands where affairs in that science were considered indefinable, but in the main, mathematical physics looked sound and solid. . . . By the turn of the century nothing, absolutely nothing was left, not a single major concept. This, I consider to have been one of the supreme facts of my experience.”

HERE, it seems, we are at the starting-point of the lines of thought which culminated in the great works of Whitehead’s Harvard period. “To have supposed you had certitude once and certitude about the solidest-



looking thing in the universe, and then to have had it blow up on your hands into inconceivable infinities has affected everything else in the universe for me.”

Broadly speaking, the impact of this experience seems to have acted along two very distinct lines—at right angles, so to speak—in the formation of his philosophical mentality. First, the obvious consequence: “It taught me,” he remarked, toward the close of his life, “to beware of certitude. . . . Nothing is entirely true, but there is some truth in each aspect. That, if we understood ourselves better, is about the way we do deal with experience, unless we begin to dogmatize—when we immediately get into trouble. We do fairly well with half-truths so long as we remember that they *are* half-truths.”

Whitehead held his own doctrines lightly in hand. It is characteristic of his own spirit that in the American metaphysical revival now in progress, of which he was certainly the prime inspiration, he has no direct descendants. The disciple after Whitehead’s own heart is the one who brings to his task not merely loyalty to the wisdom of the past, but the freshness and adventure of his own new vision.

BUT IT was the second consequence of Whitehead’s experience of the crisis in physics which alone gave meaning to this anti-dogmatism. For all his hard-won awareness of the fragility of human knowledge, he yet saw in the crisis not a defeat, but a challenge—the challenge to which he responded first by the probing of the basic concepts of science, and finally by the elaboration of his metaphysics.

Essentially, the collapse of Newtonian physics was evidence of the inadequacy of the philosophical notions upon which, since the seventeenth century, it had rested in massive grandeur. Now these foundations could no longer serve.

“Time, space, matter, material ether, electricity, mechanism, organism, configuration, structure, pattern, function, all require re-interpretation. What is the sense of talking about a mechanical explanation when you do not know what you mean by mechanics? . . . If science is not to degenerate into a medley of *ad hoc* hypotheses, it must become philosophical and must enter upon a thorough criticism of its own foundations.”

Specifically, the notion of a material body as an entity fully independent of the rest of the universe required replacing. From the re-thinking of the notion of matter in the light of the new physics, Whitehead came at length to the metaphysical categories of *Process and Reality*, where the ultimately real “actual entities” are no longer permanent, solid, individual things, but “occasions,” each with the bare minimum of duration required to make itself be, each (to borrow Paul Weiss’s description) “a point where the ideas of God joined history, where the physical was intertwined with the

mental . . . a novel present unity . . . the juncture of the whole of the past and the whole of the future."

This was a vision of the world different indeed from the earlier mechanistic view. And it sprang from a new conception of the function of philosophy—new, at least, to the "modern" period.

SINCE the seventeenth century, science has been operating on the basis of abstract notions taken over, without radical criticism, from the philosophic tradition which went back to Aristotle. In the meanwhile, philosophy itself had become a matter of criticism of detached questions. With Hume, it had arrived at a position which, if taken seriously, would have been the end of science; and with the nineteenth-century idealists the divorce of science and philosophy had become virtually complete.

The first message of *Process and Reality* was Whitehead's vindication of the value of "speculative philosophy" as "the endeavor to frame a coherent, logical necessary system of general ideas in terms of which every element of our experience can be interpreted." The task of philosophy in the new age was to shed light upon the concrete fact from which scientific abstractions are derived, "to construct a system of ideas which bring the aesthetic, moral and religious interests into relation with those concepts of the world which have their origin in natural science."

Thus it was that Whitehead became the leader, in the English-speaking countries, of the metaphysical revival which will, in all probability, prove to have been the greatest philosophical event of the twentieth century. What he was doing here was to part company, once and for all, with the "fashionable scientific philosophy" which, since Hume, had denied the basic rationality of science, pointing out that in the presence of such a denial scientific research could only continue because "scientific faith has risen to the occasion and has tacitly removed the philosophic mountain."

WHITEHEAD'S own glory was to restore to the clear light of scientific and philosophic day that faith in reason which (even when explicitly denied) had always been their driving force—"the inexpugnable belief that every detailed occurrence can be correlated with its antecedents in a perfectly definite manner, exemplifying general principles." This conviction, impressed upon the European mind as perhaps its most distinctive mark, Whitehead saw as unconsciously derived from "the medieval insistence on the rationality of God, conceived as with the personal energy of Jehovah and with the rationality of a Greek philosopher." And perhaps no passage from his writings more totally characterizes the spirit of his own thought than his description of this ultimate faith:

"Faith in reason is the trust that the ultimate nature

of things lies together in a harmony which excludes mere arbitrariness. It is the faith that at the base of things we shall not find mere arbitrary mystery. The faith in the order of nature which has made possible the growth of science is a particular example of a deeper faith. This faith cannot be justified by any inductive generalization. It springs from direct inspection of the nature of things as disclosed in our own immediate present experience. There is no parting from your own shadow. To experience this faith is to know that in being ourselves we are more than ourselves: to know that our experience, dim and fragmentary as it is, yet sounds the utmost depths of reality: to know that detached details merely in order to be themselves demand that they should find themselves in a system of things: to know that this system includes the harmony of logical rationality and the harmony of aesthetic achievement: to know that, while the harmony of logic lies upon the universe as an iron necessity, the aesthetic harmony stands before it as a living ideal molding the general flux in its broken progress towards finer, subtler issues."

THIS WAS the essence of Whitehead's vision. When we look back to the period of his greatest works, we see him standing on the threshold of the period in which we are now—somehow—engaged.

Whitehead had seen in the nineteenth century "an epoch of civilized advance—humanitarian, scientific, industrial, literary, political. . . . The Great War marked its end, and marked the decisive turn of human life into some new direction as yet not fully understood." He hoped, then, "That our present epoch is to be viewed as a period of change to a new direction of civilization, involving in its dislocations a minimum of human misery. And yet surely the misery of the Great War was sufficient for any change of epoch."

Whitehead's youngest son had been killed in that war. There is a pitiful irony in reading these lines on World War I today, remembering that he lived to see the Battle of Britain and the destruction of Hiroshima. But the message of his work remains, more poignantly true today than in the years when he was writing:

"Modern science has imposed on humanity the necessity for wandering. . . . The very benefit of wandering is that it is dangerous and needs skill to avert evils. We must expect, therefore, that the future will disclose dangers. It is the business of the future to be dangerous; and it is among the merits of science that it equips the future for its duties."

But security and civilization cannot be simply identified. "A race preserves its vigor so long as it harbors a real contrast between what has been and what may be; and so long as it is nerved by the vigor to adventure beyond the safeties of the past. Without adventure, civilization is in full decay."

Franco Spain and Opus Dei

Boston, Mass.

TO THE EDITORS: In his article "Franco Spain: Act III" [Aug. 25] Mr. Richard L. G. Deverall makes a number of statements about *Opus Dei*. As an American priest of *Opus Dei* I have spent the last two years in Spain, and I find that his statements are absolutely false. I wish therefore to set the record straight.

Specifically, Mr. Deverall states that *Opus Dei* is a semi-secret organization, that it has a reputation of being thoroughly reactionary, and he gives the impression that *Opus Dei* is a political group with policies that its members follow or attempt to carry out in the public life of Spain. This, however, is not the case. In an official statement of the Secretariat of *Opus Dei* in Chicago, recently published in *America* (May 20, 1961), a full clarification was made on this point. From this statement I wish to point out the following:

"*Opus Dei* is an Association of the Faithful of the Catholic Church, a society of ordinary citizens who strive to live an intense spiritual life by adding the practice of the counsels of the Gospel to the precepts common to all Christians. . . . The sole concern of *Opus Dei* is that its members be good Christians, and it takes care to help them spiritually to this end. . . .

"For this reason *Opus Dei* cannot and should not be confused with any political movement in any country; it cannot be compared with or in any way reduced to a political group or party. Our Association is of an exclusively religious nature; its aims are spiritual and supernatural, not political. . . .

"If *Opus Dei* were ever to abandon its supernatural purposes and try to impose some common political theory on its members, either in the whole world or even within a single country, it would not only be violating the personal freedom of its members; it would also be violating its own nature, its very own life—and its members would desert it *en masse*.

"*Opus Dei* has never had—nor will it ever have—any policies or programs in professional, political or economic matters, in artistic, literary, scientific or other similar questions. From the time he joins the Institute, each member of *Opus Dei* knows that he enjoys freedom of opinion and action in these fields. Thus he personally assumes a full and direct responsibility—before his own conscience, the laws of the country and his fellow citizens—for his conduct in these areas of human activity. *Opus Dei* does not identify itself with these personal viewpoints or opinions; it is only responsible for its own activities, those corporate works of apostolate.

"For the very same reason, *Opus Dei* should not be

praised or criticized on account of the free opinions or activities of any, or even one, of its members; certainly it cannot be criticized for allowing everyone the full use of his freedom as a citizen. If anyone wants to understand *Opus Dei*, let him learn about it by its corporate works—all those apostolic, educational and benevolent activities already mentioned—which are so easily known wherever they are found throughout the world.

"It would be false and unjust to speak of secrets or of secrecy when referring to *Opus Dei*. The aims and means of this society are perfectly well known; personal sanctification of its members and Christian apostolate. Its spirit and juridical nature are perfectly known and can be found in the three public documents of the Holy See on Secular Institutes; in the *Annuario Pontificio* and in Church Directories of different countries.

"Wherever *Opus Dei* is established, the houses of the Institute are known, since they are precisely houses of its corporate works. Its activities—corporate works of an educational, benevolent and charitable nature—are all publicly known. The history of *Opus Dei* is also known, and sketches and biographies of its Founder, Msgr. José Maria Escrivá de Balaguer have been published. Also well known are various works of its Founder, particularly *The Way*, of which close to a million copies have been published in many languages.

"In all the countries where *Opus Dei* is established it has a legal personality according to the laws of the country. Objective information about *Opus Dei* has been published in hundreds of books, magazines and newspapers all over the world; radio and television programs have reported on apostolic activities of the Institute. Nothing—absolutely nothing—is hidden, because there is nothing to hide. As for the behavior of the members of *Opus Dei*, they conduct themselves in the same way as do members of other Associations of the Faithful; nobody hides the fact that he belongs to the Institute, but neither does he wear a special habit or carry a sign on his back announcing his religious convictions."

I hope that out of justice and sound journalism you may take this opportunity to publish this clarification.

(Rev.) ROBERT P. BUCCIARELLI

The Author Replies

Brussels, Belgium

TO THE EDITORS: I have studied the letter of Father Bucciarelli, an American *Opus Dei* priest, and have also

read the complete document he quotes. Everything he says is quite true—but he does not say everything that should be said about *Opus Dei*.

Everything I reported about *Opus Dei* in my article came from Roman Catholics inside Spain whom I interviewed there; and, in one case, from the brother of one of the most respected prelates in all Spain. On the basis of these interviews, and subsequent research after I returned to Brussels, I have prepared the following notes on *Opus Dei* which will be part of a book I am now completing on Spain. I quote:

"During 1928, a wealthy Spanish priest, Msgr. Jose Maria Escrivá de Balaguer, founded a secular institute which he called *Opus Dei*, or 'work of God.' From the

beginning, the work of this secular institute was to train men (there is also a women's section), particularly those entering business, industry, and the professions—train them to dedicate themselves to a religious way of life while remaining in the secular world. . . . The lay members of *Opus Dei* take the usual monastic vows of chastity, poverty and obedience; and, as we have noted, unlike monks they live and work in their profession. Vows are re-confirmed annually, members live in *Opus Dei* houses (or with their families), and they avoid publicity as much as possible. *Opus Dei* has been described as the 'white freemasonry' of the Church in that its internal regulations are not published and the *Opus Dei* operation in terms of its activities and purposes are almost clandestine. *Opus Dei* . . . claims to have no political aims but is a purely apostolic institution. Nonetheless, Msgr. Perez, the head of the Spain branch of *Opus Dei*, is also a member of Franco's Council of State.

"In 1952, *Opus Dei* established its own university in Pamplona, the *Estudio General*. This university, thanks to the munificent financing of *Opus Dei* and generous subsidies obtained from the Council of Navarra, has become a virtual university city—a city occupied by this unique secular institute of Catholics many of whom seem destined to become the rulers of Spain if *Opus Dei* members are politically successful. During the latter part of 1960, the Falange's monopoly in the field of secular journalism was broken when Franco authorized *Opus Dei* to found a school of journalism. This goes hand in hand with *Opus Dei's* growing penetration of the daily newspaper and periodical publication field since in recent years *Opus Dei* has branched out into newspapers, magazines, institutes of science and political research, and even in the field of banking. Late in 1959 it was reported that *Opus Dei* had purchased the evening daily, *Madrid*. *Opus Dei* controls many other publications and would seem to be more than a secular institute; i.e., a political and propaganda organ. . . .

"The basic problem of *Opus Dei* is its secrecy. No one really knows who is an official of *Opus Dei*; who a member; who a fellow-traveller. Little if anything is known of the source of its seemingly plush financing.

"Further, since 1957 General Franco has turned to *Opus Dei* for devoted supporters. Such *Opus Dei* men as the Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Finance, Minister of Commerce, Minister of the Interior and the Secretary of the Presidency of Government Constitution—the core of *Opus Dei*, it is charged in Spain—have in fact strengthened Franco's tight police rule over the Spanish people.

"*Opus Dei* has given no evidence of any economic philosophy and, by its nature, has shunned the industrial, agrarian and labor problems of Spain. Indeed, *Opus Dei* members seem intent on expansion of political and other power as ends in themselves. Therefore, as

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one liberal Spanish writer has pointed out in an article in *The Commonweal* (June 19, 1959), the power of *Opus Dei* has increased, liberal elements within the government have been purged and existing areas of freedom continually narrowed. He concluded that a restoration of the monarchy might mean an even more powerful *Opus Dei* and that in turn would mean less freedom and still a more reactionary regime than that of Franco."

That is the end of my summary of what I have learned about *Opus Dei* in Spain. I have absolutely no doubt that that *Opus Dei* in the United States is quite a different institution.

I remain convinced that the basic problems of *Opus Dei* in Spain are found on three fronts: first, the source of the financing and the question of whether the government on any level supports *Opus Dei* financially; second, even though *Opus Dei* denies any interest in politics, the fact that leading Cabinet members are identified with *Opus Dei* does lead important Spanish laymen to draw what they feel to be logical conclusions; and third, the question of why *Opus Dei* cannot make public its internal regulations, list of members, and once and for all dispose of the charge of 'white free-masonry.' Finally, if *Opus Dei* concentrates on spiritual and doctrinal formation, how can it reconcile Franco's crushing of opposition and of free trade unions with Catholic social principles, most recently re-enunciated by Pope John XXIII in *Mater et Magistra*?

If, as Father Bucciarelli states, members of *Opus Dei* members enjoy "freedom of opinion and action" in the fields of "professional, political, or economic matters, in artistic, literary, scientific and other similar questions" how can *Opus Dei* seem to work with a Franco police regime which has made it virtually impossible for a man who openly talks about democracy to avoid arrest?

I remain unconvinced. The fact that members of *Opus Dei* live together, are under a vow of obedience and so forth makes it difficult to disassociate their activities in politics from *Opus Dei*. I am open to persuasion, however, and I would like to know what *Opus Dei* is doing in Spain to defend the magnificent social doctrines expounded by Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, Pius XI, Pius XII and our present gloriously reigning Roman Pontiff.

RICHARD L.-G. DEVERALL

AN APPEAL

Mother M. Evangelist writes of her mission station in India among the Santal aborigines who live in mud huts with grass roofs and are in great need of food, clothes and medicine. Many are dying of tuberculosis. Aid may be sent to: Mother Mary Evangelist, St. Philomena's Orphanage, Chakai, Mongyr District, Bihar, India. (Airmail 25¢)

THE STAGE

A Play for This Season

IT HAS taken a while, but the Broadway season has at last given us a play we can admire almost unreservedly. If I yet feel it necessary to say that "A Man for All Seasons" is a traditional work for the theater, opening up no new dramatic possibilities and extending no imaginative frontiers, this is only to warn against the indiscriminate praise the play has evoked: one of the chief disservices of popular criticism is that its honorifics blur the distinctions between kinds of drama, between intentions and between effects, so that greatly dissimilar works come to rest under the same adjective-tree, equally over-arched by "compelling," "powerful," "magnificent," "vivid," and the like.

If I call Robert Bolt's play about St. Thomas More traditional, however, that is not to say that it is clichéd, but simply that there is little of the experimental or avant-garde about it. Mr. Bolt has spoken of his esteem for Beckett and Brecht, but I found little trace of their influence in "A Man for All Seasons," except perhaps for a certain mutedness of line, a distaste for rhetorical opulence which is particularly noteworthy in a play with a historical *mise en scène*. But that is just the point. The fact that Bolt's play strikes out into no new forms, remaining securely within the theater of narrative and conscious exposition, and yet manages to mount a really considerable force and to triumph esthetically over dramaturgical limitations which almost everywhere else today result in boredom or disgust, is precisely what makes it so remarkable.

The playwright has accomplished this feat by creating a drama of the mind and conscience out of material which in lesser hands would surely have been shaped into a melodrama about freedom and tyranny. Moreover, the particular kind of mind and conscience which he exhibits to us under its mortal pressure towards extremities of moral choice and commitment is of a nature to deflate by contrast the overblown, wishful heroics, the adolescent exemplariness of our usual stage figures of resistance, moral light and sacrificial passion. The qualities of Thomas More that establish his special claim on our affection and reverence are his non-proprietary heroism, his loving, patient search for ways to live instead of die, his anchored humanity. And Mr. Bolt has rested his play upon these.

To do this means that the dramatic conflict is not so much between King Henry and the friend and chancellor who refuses his assent to the divorce and remarriage, but within More's own soul. Unfolding there, it is sometimes too subtle and interior for actualization: the play's occasional weak moments occur at times when language and gesture are grappling with the ineffable;

or, conversely, when a bit too much sheer physicality is introduced as compensation or disguise for what has not found adequate expression elsewhere. But for the most part "A Man for All Seasons" succeeds in fashioning its own proper dramatic speech, so that the image arises, cleanly and with sufficient richness, of a man's spirit forced to define itself and take the action which that definition requires.

At one point early in the play someone remarks to More that the situation is devious, to which he replies that "there must be something simple in the middle of it." That simplicity, a fearfully difficult one, was the substance of More's being and it is what "A Man for All Seasons" communicates as its revelation and aesthetic poise. It is a simplicity that results from the clash of motive and countermotive, reaching at last a stasis in which what is most necessary becomes what is most true—the need to obey one's conscience emerging as the exact equivalent of one's human identity. For More, to defy the king when everything visible argued for accommodation was to reveal what he himself ultimately was.

Mr. Bolt has wisely stayed close to the facts of More's life. He has telescoped events and taken a few liberties with the subsidiary characters, both of which are permissible. What is more than permissible is his use, wherever possible and relevant, of More's own words; few playwrights could improve upon such speeches as the one to the tribunal in which More declares his innocence and reveals his pain at seeing his enemies perjure themselves to bring him down. And yet for all this, and for all the spare, unforced, salient yet unpretentious dialogue, I doubt whether Mr. Bolt's play would work as well as it does without two contributions that are not his.

The lesser one is a set which matches in its austerity—its austerity of statement, not of theme—the central quality of the script. An all-purpose affair whose dominating object is a graceful curving stairway up and down which the characters make their important entrances and departures, it handles changes of scene by incorporating symbolic objects lowered from above—coats-of-arms, mitres, a rose-bush—the effect being in the direction of a hieratic legend rather than a naturalistic tale, a Byzantine painting rather than a Venetian one.

The other, major contribution is that of Paul Scofield in the role of More. Everything you may have heard about this young English actor is abundantly justified. I can imagine someone playing More in another way, but not Mr. Bolt's More. For Mr. Scofield has taken hold of the part, with all its internal truths and its non-anecdotal substance, and given it the most exquisitely right interpretation, one that takes its rightness from its quality of indirection, of implication and oblique gesture. It is the only kind of acting that could

have made possible the exteriorization, the conversion into palpability, of so inward a drama.

I should like to say more about the almost miraculous sense of timing this actor possesses, timing which is not simply a matter of knowing when to do things but of so arranging the spaces between dramatic elements that each of them yields up a surprise and excitement beyond what could be expected of each alone, everything linked in a series that is greater than its parts, as the words in a poem. But of course I haven't space for that, nor to say anything else about "A Man for All Seasons," except to advise you most earnestly to see it. (At the ANTA.)

RICHARD GILMAN

THE SCREEN

Who Shall Judge?

ANYONE WHO has ever envied a judge will reconsider when he sees the problems that confront Spencer Tracy as the judge from Maine who comes to Nuremberg to preside over the trial of four German judges. The year is 1948. The high German officials have been tried and sentenced. Now these four men, accused (by Richard Widmark as the American colonel who is the prosecutor) of perverting and destroying justice during the Nazi regime, stand before the tribunal. Full well does Tracy wonder if the Americans have any right to conduct the trial at all. Did the defendants have freedom of choice in carrying out the laws of the Third Reich? Did they know that their sentences usually led to imprisonment, brutal torture and even death? How responsible were they for the atrocities that followed their convictions?

These are only some of the questions facing Tracy who gives a magnificent performance as an intensely sincere man searching for answers in "Judgment at Nuremberg." Stanley Kramer, who produced and directed the film, doesn't come up with all the answers, but, as with many of his movies, he likes to needle his audiences into thinking about their responsibilities while giving them something exciting to watch. "Judgment" is both exciting and thoughtful. As a movie, it is too long, particularly in the first half when the stage is being set for the fireworks. But once the viewer identifies himself with careful, sober, likable Tracy, he finds himself involved in the whole trial and is forced to consider the answers.

Although the trial itself (a synthesis of several of the real trials) is the crux of the picture, the characters and attitudes become most important; and the script, written by Abby Mann from his original story and TV play, has caught them very well. This is necessarily a rather talky script, but director Kramer manages to get plenty

of movement into his film, and he is helped considerably by authentic outdoor shots of Germany, the fine camera work of Ernest Laszlo, and the good cast.

During the course of the trial, the court is shown some of the shocking documentary films of concentration camps and atrocities. But "Judgment at Nuremberg" is not so much attempting to understand Nazi brutes as the ordinary people in Germany who should have known the difference between right and wrong. In a first-rate portrayal of the German defense attorney for the four defendants, Maximilian Schell not only protests the screening of the grim documentaries in court, but also insists that if these four judges must stand trial, then all of Germany, should be tried. He has a point.

Three of the defendants plead not guilty. One, played by Burt Lancaster as a sixty-three-year-old, world-famous jurist, refuses to recognize the court or speak at all. Tracy, as the presiding judge of the tribunal, bends over backwards to be fair yet he is perplexed when the servants in the elegant Nuremberg house in which he is staying deny knowing anything about the bad things Hitler did, and when its former owner, a distinguished aristocrat, played with alluring hauteur by Marlene Dietrich, bitterly complains that even though she and her husband hated Hitler, her husband, a German general, was executed by the Allies as political revenge.

Tracy is not swayed. Two witnesses brought into the courtroom by the prosecution move him as they will all audiences who see this extraordinary film. The two episodes, though only a small part of the lengthy picture, are played to perfection by Montgomery Clift, who relates the events that led to his being sterilized by the Nazis, and by Judy Garland who tells of a former trial in this same courtroom when an elderly Jew was sentenced to death on the false charge of having sexual relations with her. At this point, defense attorney Schell badgers Judy so viciously that Lancaster finally speaks up and admits that he and the other defendants are guilty. But, he says, he is the most guilty because he knew better and still went along with the other judges in following Hitler's dictates, and "what was going to be a passing phase became a way of life."

Kramer has made a daring film, not only because he refuses to let sleeping dogs lie, but also because of his indictment of expediency. When an American general, distrusting Russia as an ally after the take-over of Czechoslovakia and the Berlin blockade, suggests leniency toward the Germans whom we now need, Widmark asks what the war was about. And Tracy, realizing that our moral position is the strongest weapon we have, remains adamant. He finds the defendants responsible for their crimes. In the extremely moving final scene, Tracy visits the sentenced and broken Lancaster in prison and makes it clear that even though the once-great jurist thought Nazism was only a pass-

ing phase, he abetted the evil when he convicted the first innocent man.

In its way, with its welter of answered and unanswered questions, with all its decisions and indecisions, "Judgment at Nuremberg" is a commentary on the democratic system. And the fact that the picture is having its world premiere in Berlin is another comment on the system. Some audiences may not agree that Stanley Kramer has made the year's best picture, but they are all likely to assent that it is the year's most controversial film.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

The Answer

Whether and where to bring the deep bronze
Chinese vase for burial, sculptured with sacred
Turtles and fronds of burnished leaf,
That had endured some ancient
Fire to save it from the present

What to do other than to be
Watching the extraordinary
Drifts of cloud across the fields, pearl light
Against the dun, through panes that promised
No enduring
(even with the plausibility that this new contraption or
that kind of plastic coated product might be tried)
Quietly but
Desperately, the ultimate gesture
Of what Thoreau had thought at Walden Pond

What to do when one approached the door,
A samaritan saying "Do this, do that for
The fare of those of your flesh."
But how to do, the equipment lacking

What to do but say to that friend of the dream,
The poet who had meant much in sincere insouciance,
"One thing seems important
To tell over the tale of all fault
Beside the ear of God."
Then to know as he speaks it, the proper
Answer for this time when no ear would do
Given the emergency
And the pain that was settling
Even then unfelt upon us (Ah, dear
children is this the reason that my passion
gave thee flesh in donation
of flesh with that dear who bore thee?)
Which would be the pain to unsettle
All suffering and ill,
The answer Tolstoy's *Sonata* lost, the supererogation
Of all time's ill

With this the instant's promise
Sweet the least multitudinal affair

H. C. BURKE

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BOOKS

The Dilemma of Arms Control

Deterrent and Defense. By Glenn H. Snyder. Princeton University Press. \$6.50.

Arms Control. Ed. by Louis Henkin. Prentice-Hall. \$3.50.

by Ronald Steel

It is a dilemma of our time that as the means of violence have expanded out of proportion to the attainment of rational ends, their use has become increasingly likely. Unlimited violence has become an instrument of national policy with which we must somehow cope, but which we seem unable to relate to the values of our national life. Force, as distinct from violence, has always been an instrument of national policy; indeed the preservation of the nation-state is dependent upon it. But implied in the use of force has been the understanding that it would be devoted to rational goals, that it would protect rather than destroy the society that relies on it.

The advent of the nuclear age has, however, replaced limited force with unlimited violence. As an instrument of policy, violence is subject to neither control nor direction. Nuclear weapons, different in kind as well as degree from those of an earlier age, are the instruments not of rational force, but of unrestricted violence. We know this, and we lament it, but so far we have been unable to deal with it.

So long as the protection of our society depends upon these nuclear weapons, we cannot divest ourselves of them, even though we, and the other nuclear powers, have become their prisoners. Beset by pride and fear, the nuclear powers live under a terrible sword of their own making. Armaments are necessary to protect national independence: and yet if used they can only insure cataclysmic national destruction.

A growing recognition of the self-defeating nature of the arms race has led to widespread studies of arms control as a means of restoring international order and removing the constant threat of nuclear terror. The

recent establishment of a full-time disarmament agency within the Administration underscores the belief that the present unlimited proliferation of nuclear arms has brought the world neither peace nor security.

Two more books have recently appeared which contribute to an understanding of the intricacies of the problem. *Deterrent and Defense* by Glenn H. Snyder of the University of Denver, while couched in a dense and specialized vocabulary, proposes criteria for making policy decisions of national security based on reconciling defense with deterrence. Of wider appeal to the general reader is *Arms Control*, edited by Louis Henkin, professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania, a book which grew out of the study on arms control by the American Assembly. It contains six essays by as many authorities, and a report of the assembly, held in May 1961. The essays, written in a non-technical style, are broad in nature, covering as they do, a history of arms control since 1945, its implications for U. S. foreign policy, strategic problems, questions of inspection, and views of our Soviet adversaries and our European allies.

In his basically technical volume, Snyder distinguishes the old idea of defense from the relatively new concept of deterrence and tries to integrate the two into a system of policy alternatives. While deterrence of attack might require only limited retaliatory forces, defense against attack implies massive nuclear forces designed to eradicate the enemy. These two approaches have never been fully reconciled. The Dulles doctrine of "massive retaliation" relied on our threatening to launch an all-out nuclear attack against the Soviet Union in response to limited land aggression against our allies—even though the implementation of such a policy would have involved disastrous Soviet retaliation against this country. Our policy, Snyder shows, rested on convincing the Soviets that we might act irration-

ally by unleashing a nuclear attack that could only destroy both societies, ours and theirs alike.

But the clear danger of the "massive retaliation" doctrine, as James King, Jr. points out in his perceptive essay in *Arms Control*, is that it is not merely based on a response to enemy attack, but involves the threat of our striking first. The Strategic Air Command has argued successfully that it must possess massive forces capable of absorbing a Soviet attack and then dealing a crippling "second strike" upon the aggressor. The result, King notes, was that "each time the effort was made to increase the 'second strike capability' of SAC, the result, less equivocally, was to increase 'first strike capability': the capacity of SAC itself to launch a devastating nuclear surprise attack." With the enunciation of "massive retaliation" in 1954, the implicit threat to strike first became explicit.

Deterrence is a concept of limitation which recognizes that neither we nor the Soviets have the power to impose stability through nuclear dominance. The effort to do so has led only to more armaments and greater instability. Deterrence means knowing where to stop if stability is to be achieved. For unless both sides recognize that a stopping point is in their mutual interest, we can expect nothing better than a further spiraling of the arms race as each side tries to gain an advantage over the other.

Arms control offers a way out of this terrible impasse, but it necessitates, as King truthfully observes, the abandonment of efforts by both sides to achieve offensive supremacy for their nuclear forces, and a realization that nuclear weapons cannot realistically be abolished by agreement. Once these hard truths are recognized it may be possible to reduce the perilous multiplication of nuclear weapons and restore some measure of reason to the problems of national security which plague the nuclear powers. "The strongest case for arms control measures on security grounds," King notes, "is that they may forestall national efforts to build military capabilities that will restore the first strike advantage."

The terror of an unlimited arms race, divorced from rational considerations of defense, poses a threat which may well destroy our civilization. Arms control offers a hope of restoring reason to a world driven by impatience and fear. Glenn Snyder has posed various problems of defense strategy in *Deterrence and Defense*, but hesitates to commit himself to a point of view. His book suffers from a highly technical and dense style, and its appeal is limited to specialists. *Arms Control*, on the other hand, is as good as its contributors, and at their best, as in William Frye's discussion of disarmament plans since 1945, in Jerome Wiesner's essay on inspection problems, and especially in King's piece, it is extremely useful. The other essays, while of lesser interest and quality, are nonetheless helpful to the general reader who may well feel lost in the general maze of technical and speculative material on a subject that demands our ardent concern.

Boredom and Nausea

The Empty Canvas. By Alberto Moravia. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. \$4.50.

by Alice Ellen Mayhew

ALBERTO MORAVIA's portraits of modern Italy have always made up in the storyteller's craft what they lacked in depth. He has presented a remarkable cross-section of his time and place which has sometimes achieved a certain pathos and cruel honesty, a chilling pessimism, and has indicated a natural morality without faith or hope but also without didactics. His tales frequently conclude on an upbeat after the central character, having studied himself without pity or deceit, entertains a modest and inconclusive suggestion of a solution or, at least, a *modus vivendi*.

In his latest novel, *The Empty Canvas*, published in Italy as *La Noia* (*L'Ennui*, the *mot-clé* of the existentialists), he has set his story not in a place but in an experience. And this experience is boredom—the rupture

between the thinking man and reality. Neither natural nor perennial, it is the result of alienation. But Moravia does nothing more than indicate the psychology of this estrangement, how it affects one man and how he confronts it. His weaknesses as a writer and an intellectual are not incidental here, they are inherent.

Moravia does not explain or dramatize the nature of the estrangement which is, of course, metaphysical. The alienated man, a painter in this case, appears to have been born subject to severe attacks of boredom, of intellectual nausea. He puts it down to his wealth, his socially upper-bourgeois background, his inability to act, love or create, or establish a relationship between himself and what is outside. He has all the symptoms of an intellectual crisis but, except for his unproven talent as a painter and one remark he makes about liking books, we have no indication that he is in fact an intellectual.

And yet the symbolism is obvious. Moravia undoubtedly wishes us to accept the painter as a tragic prototype, caught in an absurd world. Yet, the painter is merely a symbol, his characterization sacrificed to the novel's theme, which means a failure of both art and philosophy, because a tragic figure must, above all, be individual, highly personal, aware of his separateness and of his transcendent destiny. Moravia has said, rightly, that the intellectual is the only positive personality which the bourgeois has produced, but he uses, indeed he is addicted to, the first-person narrative which, he claims, "indicates a lack of belief in an objective reality which is common to both reader and writer." It is here that the central dilemma of Moravia's work fuzzes away into incomprehensibility. For, if it is true that there is no objective reality, then the "bored" man, the painter, whose relationships with others—things and people—is disrupted, is sane and it is the rest of the world, which thinks it has established or maintained contact with reality, that is "absurd."

The truth is that Moravia's painter talks incessantly *about* his boredom without placing it in any context of

truth and falsehood. He is not a brother of Camus' *stranger* and he does not inhabit the absurd or allegorical universe of Beckett or even of Ionesco. Nor does he define or recognize nothingness as the ultimate tragic negation of life, as does Sartre. In fact, he is only psychologically sick, and the nature of his delusion is ephemeral, the terms of the book being imitative of a certain literary mode.

I must say that I found the descriptions of impassioned amours, the evocations of masochistic aberrations, the portrait of the painter's wealthy, shrewd crone of a mother and her Appian Way villa, certain scenes between the petulant son and the icy mother, the skilled narrative detail (however endless) much more impressive than the confused, vogueish philosophical allusions. Moravia is a good writer, a brilliant craftsman, but he has grave limitations as an artist and thinker and this book presents a case study of these limitations.

A Poet for Now

Rilke's Duino Elegies. By Romano Guardini. Regnery. \$6.50.

by Bernard Murchland

RILKE WAS pained all of his life by sharp distinctions. The world, he believed, made the mistake of drawing too many of them. Rilke's poetry is a sustained effort to atone for this mistake. His poetic world was a fluid one where values criss-crossed one another in evolving movements of the spirit until the pattern of reality finally faded into an agonizing blur. Clarity, Rilke protested, is bad for the soul. Obscurity, in which all things blend if not exactly harmoniously at least tolerably, is tantamount to depth. The poet's work is defined by this perspective; it is the making of images suitable to communicate the darkness and inadequacy of our human reality. In these occult depths Rilke's poetic eye caught, as it were, the first letter of meaning and work is an effort to spell the word.

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"shame" and "inexpressible hope." Indeed, man stands at the crossroads of all contradictions—life and death, inner and outer, absolute and relative—and his ambiguity can be fleetingly clarified solely by abolishing the contradictions in a gigantic outpouring of the spirit's transforming power. Rilke undertook a highly responsible task and dedicated himself to it with religious fervor. He wrote inspiredly of man's loneliness, his transcendence, his suffering, his anguish in love and his hankering after the limitless and the boundless. His poetry is strewn with dual affirmations of hope and failure, peace and anxiety, nobility and emptiness.

In an excellent commentary on the *Duino Elegies*, perhaps Rilke's highest expression, Romano Guardini rightly notes that "Rilke's work is highly relevant to modern man. It reflects hopes and fears, experiences of Good and Evil, and inner searchings that are very much with us today . . . the vision [of the *Duino Elegies*] is like that of a dream in revealing hidden associations which we cannot see, perhaps because we do not want to see them, when we are awake. And if it is true that the poet, when he speaks from his heart, says something which concerns us all, then such poems as the *Elegies* throw some light on the processes and forces which surge up from the dark depths of history."

Guardini is primarily concerned with an assessment of the two principal themes of the *Elegies*: love and death. In these realities, Rilke saw well, all the paths of existence meet. Upon our appreciation of these will depend the very quality of our lives. Throughout his painstaking analysis, Guardini is guided by the philosophical conviction that "real poetry is an affirmation, not simply of what the poet feels or thinks, but also of what is." He is concerned with what Rilke says—and his wide knowledge of background sources as well as the poet's own work enables him to be exceptionally enlightening in this respect—but, much more importantly, with whether or not what he says is true.

How truly did Rilke see? Guardini's judgment is negative. He writes: "This most consistent of all

individualists—and here we approach the central problem of this very problematical poet—tends to deprive the individual personality of its meaning. He calls into question the integrating centre of life, the fountainhead of all judgments and decisions, the very foundation of everything we call character and integration. He was such an individualist that he objectivized his own personality and finally regarded it as a disturbing factor. The Fourth Elegy makes the monstrous statement that we spoil the pure relation of life 'by our mere existence.'"

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There is much in Rilke's own life to indicate his inability to achieve enduring personal relations. He was a solitary, introspective, brooding man who never fully committed himself to anyone. Rilke once spoke of his need for "space around his feelings," and a large portion of his life might be considered a flight from intimacy to seek refuge in the impersonal coldness of space—perhaps the empty spaces that so frightened Pascal. He wandered about from place to place, encountering numerous people but always holding the most inward part of himself in reserve, nibbling at this or that truth but shielding himself with alternatives that precluded any final stand. It seems to me that a consideration of Rilke in the framework of the sceptic tradition might be illuminating. Montaigne's "*que sais-je?*" echoes throughout his poetry.

This spatial impersonality colors Rilke's attempts to understand love. Some of his formulations of love are indeed extraordinary. He speaks of a lover's touch dissolving what it touches; lovers are continually evaporating into dimensionless entities; their very breath seems to dissolve hard human contours into angelic purities. For Rilke there had to be eternity in a caress, pure duration in a kiss. "Aren't lovers always coming to precipices in each other—lovers, that looked for spaces, hunting home?" In the fourth *elegy* a lover admires the "changing space" in the beloved's face. Rilke's notion of love is not in terms of the person but in terms of a spatial quality in the other.

Guardini has very little sympathy with this view for it abolishes the I-Thou relation which is of the essence of love. It creates an inner vacuity that contaminates everything else. His judgment of Rilke's treatment of death is equally to the point. "The poetic images of the *Elegies* are impressive and full of affirmative power," he writes, "but they deprive Death of its real seriousness."

It strikes me as altogether ironical that Rilke's father enrolled him in a military school. No way of life could be more foreign to his temperament. Yet there is something pro-

foundly symbolic in the episode. The military may rightly be taken as the symbol of the depersonalization and mechanization of life that so gravely threatens man today. There can be no doubt that Rilke looked upon the world as a vast army camp highly organized for destruction. Some remarks he made during World War I bear this impression out. That Rilke did not achieve any mature degree of interpersonal communion is one question; but I consider it much more significant that he lived in a world where such relations are rapidly becoming impossible. I believe Rilke's testimony to consist precisely in his valiant effort to affirm spiritual values in such a world.

To argue about how well he succeeded seems, in comparison, something of a quibble. As things stand no one succeeds very well. Sensitive spirits are shocked, for example, by the extent to which religion itself has capitulated to the depersonalizing forces of the times. My one criticism of Guardini, then, would be this: he has a tendency to assess Rilke in terms that Rilke could never have understood. Things may have been better in the Middle Ages, as Guardini strangely enough implies, and relativism may be altogether deploable. But such canons are not at all fitted to Rilke's complicated vision.

In the end Rilke failed. He himself knew that. One cannot ask the angelic for man. The world will not survive without distinctions. Art cannot be a panacea for the dilemmas of modern life. But his failure was of the kind that generates spiritual vision. This is the positive side of Rilke's work as a poet: he always kept the door open on mystery and strove with his powerful talent to explore the realms of the heart. In a world such as ours this is much to be grateful for. When the city is besieged the best defense is not always available. But in a critical situation any defense is better than none.

Between the hammers lives on our heart, as between the teeth the tongue, which, in spite of all, still continues to praise.

These lines from the ninth *Elegy* indicate the Rilke who has a message for our times, the Rilke who examines the question of how hope is possible today.

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